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SOME

FACTS

AND

OBSERVATIONS

Relative to the FATE of the late

LINEN BILL,

Last SESSION of

PARLIAMENT

IN THIS

KINGDOM.

DUBLIN Printed: *LONDON* Re-printed:
For R. GRIFFITHS, in St. *Paul's Church-Yard*,
M.DCC.LIII.

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THE Linen Bill of laſt Seſſion of Parliament was intended for a general Law; repealing all former Acts relative to this Manufacture, and enacting ſuch Parts of ſaid Acts as were thought proper to be continued; with ſuch Alterations, Amendments and Additions, as were therein after contained.

CONTRARY to the uſual Practice in regard to our Linen Bills, this Bill was returned to us from *England*, ſo mangled and mutilated, that it became abſolutely unavoidable to ſuffer it to drop *; The Omiſſions

* In order that the Public, who are ſo deeply intereſted in the Iſſue of this Matter, may have all the Aſſiſtance which at preſent is to be had, for forming juſt Conjectures concerning the Origin and Progreſs of this extraordinary Tranſaction; it may not be amiſs to give them ſome Information of the ſeveral Steps which are requiſite in paſſing of Bills into Laws in our *Iriſh* Parliament: Firſt, upon Leave being given by the Houſe where the Bill has its Origin, whether of Lords or Commons, it is brought in under the Title of *Heads of a Bill*; and after being paſſed by the Houſe, it is directed to be carried to the Lord Lieutenant, by whoſe Order it is next laid before our Privy Council, where it may be wholly ſuppreſſed; but when it is agreed to, either without any Variation or with ſuch Alterations and Amendments as they ſhall judge

Omiſſions are by far the moſt material, though ſome of the Alterations are likewiſe important; there is in one Place upwards of an intire Skin, about one twelfth Part of the Whole Bill, *viz.* from Line 12th in Skin 9th, to Line 13th, in Skin 10th, altogether left out.

THE Clauſes, thus omitted, begin with reciting, 'That by an *Engliſh* Act of Parliament of the 3d 'and 4th of Q. *Anne*, intitled, An Act to permit the 'Exportation of *Iriſh* Linen Cloth to the Plantations, &c.

proper, it is then put into the Form of an Act, and tranſmitted to *England*, accompanied with a Letter from the Lord Lieutenant and Council to the Secretary of State, ſetting forth the Purport, and explaining the Reaſons and Intentions of the Bill: the Bill is next laid before a Committee of the *Engliſh* Council, and by them referred to the King's Attorney and Solicitor General; who are to conſider thereof, and to report how far it is, or with what Alterations, &c. it may be made, proper for being paſſed into a Law. Upon their Report the Bill is taken under the Conſideration of the Council, and is either dropt, or ordered to be remitted under the Great Seal, without any, or with ſuch Variations as they ſhall ſee fit.

Along with the Bill thus ſent back into *Ireland* under the Great Seal, which is the Lord Lieutenant's Authority to paſs it into a Law, it is ſaid to be a conſtant Practice to tranſmit from the Council Office in *England* to the Lord Lieutenant's Secretary here, a Reſcript minutely pointing out, even to an '*at* or an *and*,' whatever Alterations, Obliterations or Additions which have been made on the other Side: From the Lord Lieutenant's Secretary's Office the Bill is returned to the Houſe in which it took its Riſe; and if, upon comparing it with the Heads of the Bill as they were ſent from thence, there are found any Variations, then theſe Variations are taken under Conſideration, and if they appear of ſuch a Nature as to defeat the original Purpoſes of the Bill, or in any other Reſpect to render it improper to be paſſed into a Law, the Houſe lets the Bill drop: When this is not the Caſe, the Bill is ſent to the other Houſe of Parliament, with a Meſſage deſiring their Concurrence; and this Houſe is only at Liberty either to paſs the Whole or reject the Whole, the Bill not admitting any Variation, (indeed it would be endleſs if it ſhould) after having paſſed the Council of *England*, and got the Great Seal annexed: this, as it is ſaid, is the ordinary Courſe.

'&c. it was made lawful to export from *Ireland* directly to the *Britiſh* Plantations, all Sorts of white and brown Linen Cloth of the Manufacture of *Ireland*, under the Reſtrictions and Conditions in ſaid Act mentioned, for the Term of eleven Years, which Act was continued ſo far as related to ſuch Permiſſion, by an Act in the 1ſt of K. *George* the Firſt, for one Year, and to the End of the next Seſſion; and that by another Act made in *Great Britain* in the 3d of K. *George* the Firſt, intitled An Act for continuing the Liberty of exporting *Iriſh* Linen Cloth Duty free to the *Britiſh* Plantations in *America*, the ſaid recited Act of the 3d and 4th of Q. *Anne*, ſo far forth as the ſame relates to the Exportation of *Iriſh* Linen, ſhould be continued in full Force, SO LONG as the Merchants and other Perſons of *Great Britain* ſhould be permitted to import into *Ireland*, free from all Duties, ſuch white and brown Linens as ſhould be made in *Great Britain*.'

The Bill goes on to recite, 'That by an Act paſſed in this Kingdom in the 14th and 15th Years of K. *Charles* the Second, for ſettling the Exciſe, and by another Act paſſed the ſame Seſſion, ſettling the Subſidy of Poundage, and granting Tonage, all *Britiſh* Linens imported into this Kingdom were ſubjected to certain Duties referred to, or mentioned in the ſaid Acts.' Then the Bill enacts, 'That it ſhall and may be lawful for all Merchants and other Perſons of *Great Britain*, to import into this Kingdom all Sorts of white and of brown *Britiſh* Linens, that are or ſhall be made and manufactured in *Great Britain*, free from all

'Duties whatſoever, So LONG as it ſhall be lawful 'to export from this Kingdom directly to the *Britiſh* Plantations all Sorts of white and brown Li-'nens of the Manufacture of this Kingdom, on ſuch 'Terms, Conditions and Limitations as in the ſaid 'recited Act of the 3d and 4th of Q. *Anne* are li-'mited and appointed, and NO LONGER.'

THE Bill goes on next to enact, 'That all white, 'painted and ſtained Callicoes, and all painted and 'ſtained Muſlins, except ſuch as are painted and 'ſtained in *Great Britain*, ſhall at any time until the '25th of *December* 1763, and to the End of the 'next enſuing Seſſion, anſwer and pay the Duty of 'one Shilling and Six-pence per Yard, and that all 'Sorts of Linen and Lawns, which ſhall during this 'Time be imported into this Kingdom, except they 'be of the Growth and Manufacture of *Great Bri-'tain*, or be painted or ſtained in *Great Britain*, 'ſhall anſwer and pay the Duty of Six-pence per 'Yard, over and above all other Duties payable for 'the ſame, in virtue of the two Acts in the Reign of '*Charles* the Second above recited; and that the 'above Duties, impoſed by this preſent Act, ſhall 'be applied to the Uſe of the Hempen and Flaxen 'Manufactures of this Kingdom, and to no other 'Uſe whatſoever.'

'IT further enacts, 'That no Drawback or De-'benture ſhall be allowed for exporting any Calli-'coe, Muſlin, Holland, Lawn, foreign Sail Cloth, 'or Linen whatſoever, excepting ſuch as are of the 'Manufacture, or painted or ſtained in *Great Bri-'tain*, any former Law, Uſage or Cuſtom to the 'contrary notwithſtanding. And that all new Sails

'of

'of foreign Sail Cloth found on board any Ship 'or Boat, except for the Uſe of ſaid Ship or Boat, 'ſhall be liable to the ſame Duty as if in PIECES, 'and if attempted to be landed, or put on board 'another Ship or Boat, without paying the Duty, 'ſhall be forfeited, *&c.*' *

THOSE are the Clauſes left out.

THE following are ſome of the moſt material Alterations.

THE Clauſe granting a Premium of five Shillings a Hogſhead on the Importation of Hemp-ſeed, or Flax-ſeed, as it went from hence, was in theſe Words: 'That whoever ſhall import, or cauſe to 'be imported, into this Kingdom, good ſound 'Hemp-ſeed or Flax-ſeed from any Port in *Ruſſia*, '*Sweden*, *Denmark*, *Poland*, *Pruſſia*, *Germany*, or 'any Port in the *Baltic Sea*, or within the SOUND, 'or from *Hamburgh*, or *Altena*, or any of the *Eng-* '*liſh* Plantations in *America*, within the Space of 'eleven Years from the 25th of *December* next, 'and to the End of the then next enſuing Seſſion 'of Parliament ſhall receive, *&c.*' As it returned from *England*, the Clauſe runs thus, pretty much in the Words of our preſent Law, 'That whoever 'ſhall import, or cauſe to be imported, into this 'Kingdom, good ſound Hemp-ſeed or Flax-ſeed 'of the Growth of *Ruſſia*, *Germany*, the *Netherlands*, 'the Eaſt Country, or any of the *Engliſh* Planta- 'tions

* Notwithſtanding theſe high Duties, which have the Appearance of Prohibitions, a Revenue is raiſed therefrom to the Linen Board, of near Six Thouſand Pounds a Year. Judge then what the Conſequence muſt be to this Country, when thoſe Duties ſhall be intirely taken away.

'tions in *America*, within the Space of two Years, 'shall receive, &c. n. h.

THE Clauſe allowing a Premium of a Shilling the Buſhel on Flax-ſeed of the Growth of this Kingdom South of *Dundalk*, when landed five or more Leagues North of *Dundalk* in this Kingdom, as it went from hence, was for ſeventeen Years, the Policy of which was obvious, to induce the Farmer to go into this Courſe of Huſbandry, by ſecuring him Encouragement for ſo conſiderable a Length of Time; yet as the Bill came back, it was only for two. The Premium likewiſe of a Shilling the Buſhel on exporting of Flax-ſeed of the Growth of this Kingdom from the Port of *Dundalk*, or South of *Dundalk*, to any Part beyond the Sea, when the Price of Flax-ſeed in this Kingdom ſhall be at five Shillings a Buſhel or under, as the Bill went from hence ſeems to be left without any Limitation in point of Time, as it comes back it is 'for two 'Years from the 25th of *March* 1752, and from 'the Expiration thereof to the End of the then 'next enſuing Seſſion of Parliament, AND NO 'LONGER.'

IT will be but too obvious, on the ſlighteſt Attention, that theſe Omiſſions and Alterations, all of them of an adverſe Aſpect, tended on the whole not merely

n. h. The Manner and Words of our former Act, which are by this Alteration reſtored, were varied in the late Bill, on purpoſe to remove all Ambiguity in regard to the Places from whence Flax-ſeed intitled to the Premium might be imported, and likewiſe to exclude the *Netherlands*, as a great deal of bad Flax-ſeed has of late Years been ſent in from *Holland*: By changing eleven Years into two, we were likewiſe to be laid under a Neceſſity of ſending over a Linen Bill every Seſſion of Parliament.

merely to mar the Growth, but, in Truth, to ſap the Foundations of our Linen Manufacture.

HAD the Bill, as it came back from *England*, paſſed into a Law, this Kingdom muſt, in conſequence of the Omiſſion of the firſt Clauſe abovementioned, have found itſelf deprived, in virtue of its own Act and Deed, of the highly important Privilege of ſending our Linens to *America*; the Laws made in the Reign of *Charles* the Second, impoſing a Duty on *Britiſh* Linens imported into this Country, muſt in this Caſe come again into Force, and the Officers of the Revenue become conſequently obliged to put them in Execution; and the Moment this happened, *Ireland* muſt have found itſelf under all the Infamy of a *Felo de ſe*, in reſpect to this vital Source of its Induſtry and Support.

HAPPILY the certain, and, as Matters were circumſtanced, the only practicable Means of avoiding this Evil, remained in our own Hands: Our Houſe of Commons followed, where hard Neceſſity pointed out the Way; and in order to avoid a much greater Miſchief than the Loſs of the Bill, they let the Bill drop: It is to be hoped, by the way, that we ſhall be taught by this Inſtance to keep ourſelves out of Danger of falling into any ſuch Snare for the future, by diſcontinuing a Practice lately taken up, which, however well it was intended, is capable of being perverted into an inſidious Device of involving this Country in inextricable Difficulties.

BUT, dropping the Bill, is far from proving a Deliverance from the ſtill greater Miſchiefs with which this Country is threatened by the Omiſſion of the Clauſes which immediately followed; theſe

Evils are juſt now impending, as the Laws impoſing the Duties of Eighteen-pence a Yard on Callicoes and all foreign Muſlins, and of Six-pence a Yard on all foreign Linens; and likewiſe for allowing a Premium on raiſing Flax-ſeed in the South, *&c.* are all to expire at the End of next Seſſion.

Unless therefore a more happy Genius ſhall for the future preſide, than what would ſeem to have had the Direction when ſuch Havock was committed on our favourite Bill, we are to lay our Account, by the Beginning of next Summer, to ſee this Country overlaid with *Indian* Callicoes and Chinces, foreign Muſlins and Lawns, ſpotted and plain, and all Kinds of foreign Linens; to the irreparable Injury of our own Manufacture, and likewiſe to the effectual Excluſion of the *Mancheſter* Cottons, and of all Kinds of Linens and Lawns of the Manufacture of *Britain*.

What, and whoſe Policy it was which occaſioned theſe aſtoniſhing and unaccountable Changes, it moſt nearly concerns this Country to ſearch out to the Bottom; in the mean time, a Reflection adminiſtring no ſmall Conſolation, ſpontaneouſly ariſes from the very Nature of thoſe Changes, 'That it is hardly conceivable they could have been made, with the Privity and determinate Approbation of thoſe, who are principally intruſted with the Adminiſtration of the general and commanding Intereſts of *Britain*; at leaſt with the Privity of ſuch as have theſe extenſive Intereſts principally at Heart.'

It has long been eſteemed a Circumſtance of ſingular Felicity in the Relation wherein this Country ſtands to *Britain*, 'That in regard to every Inſtance,

on

on the one Hand, whereby the Welfare of *Ireland* can be promoted, conſiſtently with the Welfare and Proſperity of *Britain*, it evidently becomes, in the Judgment of every Man of common Senſe and common Honeſty, an Obligation of Intereſt, as well as a Conduct in other Reſpects highly ſuitable to all the more liberal Principles of the *Britiſh* Policy, for *Britain*, in all ſuch Inſtances, not merely to permit this Country to avail itſelf of its utmoſt Skill and Induſtry, which its own National Wiſdom inſtructed from the intimate Relation it ſtands in to the ſeveral Parts, muſt naturally be beſt qualified to direct, but likewiſe to extend to it all that Protection, Encouragement and Aſſiſtance which the Nature of the Caſes may reſpectively require: And, on the other Hand, the ſame common Senſe and common Honeſty invariably conſpire to render it equally abſurd and unjuſt, for *Ireland* to aſpire to any Advantages, in their Nature or Tendency likely to prove injurious to *Britain*; for the ſame plain and obvious Reaſons which make it wicked in a few Individuals to ſeek their own private Intereſt at the Hazard of the public Safety, or the Expence of the public Good; and which make it ridiculous to expect, that the Public, having their Eyes open, and Power in their Hands, will ſuffer them to ſucceed.

SUCH then being the righteous and animating Principle of this happy Relation, diffuſing Confidence, Vigour and Harmony throughout the whole; and the reſpective Conduct of the two Countries having ſo uniformly correſponded with it; How natural was it for the Gentlemen of this Kingdom, accuſtomed to live without Suſpicion, eaſily and implicitely

implicitely to give Credit to the following Story, inſtantly given out on the Return of this Bill, eſpecially conſidering the Authority from whence it was ſuppoſed to come? 'That all thoſe Omiſſions 'happened merely by Accident, and were owing to 'the Heedleſſneſs of a Clerk engroſſing the Bill, 'who ſuffered a parcel of the Sheets from which 'he was tranſcribing to ſlip under the Table, and 'not atending to the Senſe or Connexion continued 'to write on.'

In Conſequence however of this honeſt Credulity, the Attention of the Public was moſt unluckily laid aſleep, at a Seaſon when every honeſt Man, meaning well to his Country, and not under the Power of little factious Politics, had he been aware of the real Tranſaction, muſt peculiarly have wiſhed it to have been kept broad awake.

It may amaze you, my Country-men, but it muſt no longer be concealed, even though ſome of you may be led to judge with Severity of the Inventors of this Report, and likewiſe of ſuch of the Propagators as were let into the Secret, and thereby became conſcious how the Fact ſtood——the Story is altogether, and in every Article and Circumſtance an 'IDLE TALE;' for, in the preſent Generation, ſuch is the Purity of Intention of all Men in Power, or Retainers to Power, that we muſt not ſuſpect it an 'INSIDIOUS DEVICE,' fitted to lead this Country to the brink of Ruin*: All the Omiſſions as well as all

* Some odd Fatality, as it would ſeem, muſt have attended this Bill; the two Clauſes mentioned above, confeſſedly the Articles of greateſt ſignificancy relative to the general Intereſt of this Manufacture, happen to be placed in immediate Succeſſion;

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all the above Alterations, now evidently appear to have been cauſed by Deſign; and with ſuch Deſign, as, if not inſtantly and zealouſly oppoſed, and the miſchievous Tendency thereof, as well in Regard to the Intereſts of *Britain*, as of this Country, ſeaſonably laid open to thoſe, on whoſe Protection we can with Confidence rely, *Ireland* is at the Eve of being robbed of its Paladium, without the Loſs of which, it may readily be ſeen to be impoſſible ever to ſubdue the free born Spirit of this Country, by reducing its Inhabitants to that wretched State of Poverty and Abjectneſs, requiſite to ſuit the Purpoſes of Domination of a few ambitious Men.

Among the various Conjectures occaſioned by this extraordinary Incident, it has been imagined that ſome Meaſure of this ſort might have appeared to become requiſite, from an apprehended Oppoſition of Intereſt between *North Britain* and *Ireland*, in

In Caſe therefore, the Perſon or Perſons concerned in mutilating this Bill, had any unfriendly Intentions towards this Country, which yet they might wiſh to conceal, how eagerly muſt this Circumſtance have been laid hold of, by them? as, by one ſingle Chaſm they would thus conclude themſelves ſecure of anſwering their Purpoſe, and yet, in Virtue of ſuch colouring as has been made uſe of, have the Chance of eſcaping the Suſpicion of its being done by Deſign. From the ſeveral Alterations ſpecified above, it ſeems in all Probability to have been taken for granted, that the temporary Laws were all to have determined with the End of laſt Seſſion; and if this had been the Caſe, the Stroke was maſterly, and muſt have done Execution, let the Conduct of our Parliament on the Return of our Bill, have been what it would; if the Bill ſhould be paſt, the Blow muſt have taken Place in all its Extent; and were the Bill to have been let drop, ſtill, in their fond Imaginations, the Injury muſt prove fatal, as all the Duties on Callicoes and foreign Linens muſt of Neceſſity have been let drop along with it.

O *Ireland*, what a Snare (on this Suppoſition) haſt thou eſcaped, —— it is to be hoped, for ever!

in regard to this Manufacture: Happy will it be for this Country, if this ſhall turn out to have been in reality the Cauſe; for by making it manifeſt that all Apprehenſions of this Sort are utterly groundleſs, the adverſe Spirit occaſioned by theſe Apprehenſions, muſt in conſequence become placid, and every thing may be rectified without any Difficulty.

But if ſuch was in Truth the Source of this Policy, why, in the Name of Common Senſe, was it ſo induſtriouſly concealed? Concealed at a time, when it was ſo highly reaſonable and requiſite, that all ſuch Jealouſies ſhould be inſtantly removed, and, when, by an impartial and patient Inquiry into the Nature and Circumſtances of this common Branch of our Trade, it is capable of ſo eaſy a Demonſtration, to every attentive and candid ſpirited Mind, that inſtead of any real Oppoſition betwixt *Scotland* and this Country, it is moſt evidently for the reſpective Intereſt of both, to contribute their mutual Aſſiſtance in promoting in each, the Culture of this Manufacture, to the utmoſt Extent which the Condition and Exigencies, and a ſuitable Attention to the other beneficial Articles of Induſtry and Commerce, in the reſpective Countries will permit.

At preſent it may ſuffice to make this ſingle Remark, 'That it muſt ſurely be too early to conceive any Jealouſy of a thwarting of Intereſts between any Part of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, till by uniting their Efforts, the *Britiſh* Market ſhall come to be ſo plentifully ſupplied at Home, as not to ſtand in need of the Importation of any of thoſe Articles of this Manufacture in which our common Induſtry

is at preſent imployed from any of the Countries abroad.'

But, let the Source of the Policy on the other Side of the Water have been what it will, it ſtill remains extremely difficult to conceive, and yet may be of the laſt Importance to inquire, how it ſhould come to paſs, that the Danger into which this Kingdom is evidently brought, in regard to this eſſential Article of its Induſtry and Support, was, with ſo much Addreſs, attempted to be concealed, at a Time, when there was ſo happy an Opportunity for the public Wiſdom of this Country interpoſing its Aid? in conſequence of which Interpoſition, every uneaſy Apprehenſion in regard to this Matter, muſt long ere now have been effectually removed; not a perſon of Diſcernment and Candor either in the Adminiſtration or Legiſlature of *Britain*, who would not have ſeen it made out to their intire Satisfaction, 'That every Meaſure, pernicious to the 'Linen Manufacture in *Ireland*, muſt likewiſe 'prove hurtful to the Trade and Intereſts of *Bri-* 'tain; conſequently muſt prove highly injurious 'to the general Welfare, and peculiarly repugnant 'to the liberal and provident Policy of our Parent 'Country, remarkable for extending its beneficent 'Influence for ſtrengthning and invigorating every 'Part, ſo far as is found conſiſtent with the Good 'of the Whole.'

How different from this is the preſent Condition of the Inhabitants of this Country? Diſcerning but too clearly, that the moſt precious Article of our national Support is at this Day at Stake; utterly ignorant, at the ſame time, from what Cauſes we are

thus

thus brought into Danger, and thereby left to act merely at Random, or, at beſt, under the Direction of precarious and fluctuating Conjecture, in looking out for a Remedy; ſadly ſenſible withal, that unleſs ſome effectual Remedy ſhall be happily provided, before the End of next Seſſion of Parliament, this Country, inſtead of beholding our Linen Manufacture in a State of Health and Proſperity, ſuitable to its preſent Condition, and to the laudable Spirit of Induſtry, every Day increaſing amongſt us, muſt be condemned to ſee, and utterly unable to prevent, the various Symptoms of a fatal Conſumption gradually diſcloſing themſelves, which after a few Years languiſhing, muſt of Neceſſity iſſue in its total Diſſolution.

That this Repreſentation is without Extravagance or Exaggeration, every one will eaſily be convinced, only by reflecting on the unavoidable Conſequences which muſt inſtantly enſue on that ſingle Inſtance of Callicoes, &c. and foreign Liriens becoming exempted from the Duties to which they have, to the ineſtimable Emolument of this Manufacture, for a long Courſe of Years been ſo wiſely ſubjected; and every one will ſee, that, as our preſent Law ſtands, theſe Duties muſt of courſe come to an End with the End of the next Seſſion: Such likewiſe is the Nature of the other Omiſſions, and the ſeveral Alterations, as plainly to betray, but too apparent Symptoms of an unfriendly Intention towards this Manufacture; and how far this Malevolence may get leave to exert itſelf, if not ſeaſonably expoſed, who is there in this Country, and at this Day, qualified to pronounce?

What-

WHATEVER Caution therefore, or Delicacy may be by ſome Folks judged neceſſary upon ſuch an Occaſion, in putting their Thoughts into Language, the Nature of the Thing will hardly admit, but that every Man muſt inwardly reſolve this late extraordinary Proceeding into one or other of the two following Poſitions; either, 'That this Country has been thus brought into Danger, by a 'Trick; in order, that Deliverance may be afterwards conferred on us as a Favour;' or elſe, 'That there is in Fact a real and deliberate Deſign, working ſome where or other, with ſuch 'Efficacy, againſt us, that if not ſpeedily detected, 'and the malignant Tendency ſeaſonably expoſed, 'muſt neceſſarily iſſue in the irreparable Injury of 'our Linen Manufacture.'

THE former of theſe Suppoſitions carries ſomething in it ſo extremely unnatural, that from an ingenuous Mind, previouſly void of Suſpicion, it would be incapable of meeting with one Moment's Reception: But, *to the Jealous, Trifles light as Air, turn Confirmations ſtrong, as Proofs from Holy Writ*: Whether the Circumſtance of ſuffering a Falſhood, to impoſe ſo critically on the Minds of the Public, comes within this Deſcription, will beſt be left to every Man's own Breaſt to determine.

STILL it muſt be acknowledged by every liberal Mind, that the latter is much the more natural Conjecture; and as this would appear to be the only Alternative, let it be taken for granted, that this was in reality the Nature of the Fact, and that it ſhall turn out, in very Deed, to have been 'a ſettled Purpoſe, in ſome Perſon or Perſons, through

whoſe Hands our *Iriſh* Bills neceſſarily paſs on the other Side of the Water, not merely to ſtop the Growth, but to cut the very Sinews of our Linen Manufacture;' To what Cauſe, Perſon, or Policy, can it be aſcribed, upon this Suppoſition, that the Truth of this Tranſaction was induſtriouſly concealed from the Obſervation of the Public, whoſe eſſential Intereſts were thus evidently ſtruck at, with ſuch very ſtrong Symptoms of Malice Propenſe? concealed at greater Expence than a Man of Honour would allow himſelf to be at, for the ſaving his Life?

If it was underſtood, or even ſuſpected, 'That ſtopping the Progreſs of the Linen Manufacture in *Ireland* was come to be an Article of Policy, with the *Adminiſtration* in *Britain*;' a Suppoſition made only in Order to take in every poſſible Cauſe; but if it was apprehended that the Policy of this Meaſure had its Origin ſo deep, could there be any thing, if not more unfriendly in Intention, at leaſt, more injurious in its Tendency and Effects, than to hide this Matter from a Country whoſe all was at Stake? To hide it, at a Time when there was ſo ſeaſonable an Opportunity for the public Wiſdom of this Country interpoſing its united Council and Influence, for warding off a Blow, which if not warded off, muſt prove fatal to us; and at the ſame Time ſo injurious to *Britain*, that it muſt quickly become obvious to every Man of Senſe, that no ſuch Blow could ever have been meditated, but under the Power of ſome ſudden Prejudice, occaſioned by artful Miſrepreſentations and odious Colourings, which it was, therefore, peculiarly the

Buſineſs of the National Council of this Kingdom to wipe off and ſet right.

Supposing, then, that in Conſequence of ſome miſtaken Apprehenſion, it was one way or other conceived to be an Article of neceſſary Policy, to put a ſtop to the Progreſs of increaſing Induſtry, and the flowing of the living Fountain of ſalutary Wealth in this Country; was it not in its Nature a moſt favourable Circumſtance, tho', in the Event, it has proved not merely inſignificant, but hurtful; that the public Council of the Nation, the only proper Perſons to ſearch out the latent Cauſes of this impending Danger, and to deviſe an adequate Remedy, if in Fact, an adequate Remedy might ſtill be deviſed, was then ſitting?

Representations from Individuals, when the Danger came to be diſcerned, might many of them be petulant, the haſty Expreſſions of tumultuary Minds, conſcious of no ill Deſert, and yet now ſuddenly ſeeing themſelves and their Country on the Brink of the Precipice; and tho' ſome of theſe Repreſentations in Point of Decency, and ſuitable Reſpect, as well as of ſound Argument and liberal Policy, might prove altogether unexceptionable; yet all of them, from their Nature, muſt be neceſſarily void of that Authority and Weight in Point of Teſtimony, not merely in regard to Facts, but to the national Spirit and Principles of this Country, which on the preſent Occaſion, and in our preſent Circumſtances are ſo peculiarly requiſite.

How different muſt the Caſe have been in a parliamentary Repreſentation? There, after a patient and diſpaſſionate Inquiry, if, agreeably to the preſent

Suppoſition, it came to be diſcerned that this unlooked for Change, in regard to our Linen Manufacture, was in reality owing to ſome unfavourable and miſtaken Apprehenſions, 'either in reſpect to 'the political Principles and Temper of this Coun-'try in general; or of its Induſtry in general; or 'elſe in regard to the Tendency and Effects of its 'Induſtry in this particular Branch,' with what Aſſurance of carrying home the fulleſt Conviction to the Breaſt of every honeſt Perſon in *Britain*, would they have entered into a ſolemn Diſquiſition concerning each of theſe Points? How impregnably would they have laid their Foundation, by aſſerting, in Terms of the ſtrongeſt Significancy, Truths, to which the Heart of every ſober Proteſtant in *Ireland*, and of all who wiſh well to the general Intereſts of Liberty muſt readily bear witneſs?

'That a Senſe of the ineſtimable Happineſs reſulting from the preſent Relation wherein *Ireland* ſtands to *Britain* is truly the national Senſe; lively and prevalent, and ſo univerſal, that ſeveral of the popiſh Inhabitants, tho', in other Reſpects, ſtill under the Power of that unſociable and inſlaving Superſtition, may juſtly be reckon'd to live under its Influence:' 'That in conſequence of this truly honourable Relation, it is a Duty well underſtood, and, upon all neceſſary Occaſions, ready to be practiſed by all his Majeſty's Subjects in *Ireland*, who wiſh well to the Intereſts of a legal Government, and to the Proteſtant Succeſſion in the preſent Royal Family, to venture, and to ſacrifice their Fortunes and Lives in Defence of the Liberties and Proſperity of *Britain*; well knowing that they can have no Se-

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Security for their own Birth-right, which to them is more precious than Fortune or Life, but what muſt depend on the Security of the Birth-right of their elder Brethren:

'THAT they are not only aware of the Force of the Inference naturally reſulting from this Obligation, but are, in all ſignificant Inſtances, conſcious of a Diſpoſition to ſubmit to the Power of it; conſcious of being ready, when at any Time there ſhall unhappily fall out any real and important Oppoſition of Intereſt betwixt *Great Britain* and this Country, voluntarily to acquieſce in the Sacrifice of their own, which muſt be honeſtly acknowledged, the inferior Intereſt, to that of their Mother-country; whoſe Proſperity they are ſenſible ought at all Times to have the Preference, as being ſtill more intimately connected with, and from its Nature more eſſential to the Good of the Whole.'

THESE then being the well known, permanent Principles of all the ſober, thinking, and well-affected Inhabitants of this Kingdom, with what irreſiſtable Evidence would our Parliament have been able to vindicate the Cauſe of their Country; and to demonſtrate that all Prejudices endeavoured to be inſinuated againſt us on Account of national Temper or Principles, are utterly groundleſs, and highly injurious to a brave, and honeſt, and free People; a People as ſenſible, as common Senſe can make them, that they can no longer be free, in any valuable Signification of that animating Sound, than while, in Virtue of their preſent Connection, they continue to have the Intereſt, the Faith, and, which is ſtill more endearing, the parental and

paternal Affection of *Britain* and its Sons, for their precious Pledge and Security in the quiet Enjoyment of all the Bleſſings of a legal Government, and of all the Advantages likewiſe of an induſtrious People, ſo far as ſhall be judged conſiſtent with the Welfare of *Britain*, and ſo long as they ſhall continue to deſerve this Affection, by being at all Times ready to enter into the Defence, and to conſult the permanent Safety and Proſperity of their Mother Country, at any Expence of Hazard in reſpect to themſelves.

HERE we ſhould have had no frantic Sallies of Enthuſiaſm, nor any thing akin to the licentious and abſurd Declamations of a few Individuals, actuated by private and ſtrangely miſplaced Ambition, but apparently Strangers to the fundamental Principles, and extenſive Relations of the political Connexions of Mankind; Far from conſidering *Ireland* as a new *Atlantis*, ſituated in the midſt of the Sea, or rather, in the midſt of the Clouds, utterly unrelated to, and abſolutely independant, in point of Subſiſtence and Protection, on any other Country upon Earth, we ſhould have heard the great Council of the Nation, with a compoſed Elevation of Sentiment, ſuitable to the happy Circumſtances in which we actually exiſt, explaining to the World, 'That inſtead of claiming or wiſhing to be conſidered as an intire Whole, or Community, by itſelf, this Country has long accounted it a Circumſtance of ineſtimable Value, and the only rational Security for our Liberty and Happineſs,' 'That *Ireland* is not a WHOLE, but a PART; an Honourable an Integral Member of the nobleſt Political Community now ſubſiſting upon Earth;

Earth; whereof *Great Britain* is moſt readily acknowledged to be ſtill ſo much the Greater and more Honourable Part, that whatever is found eſſential to the Safety and Intereſts of this our Parent Country, ought, in all Juſtice, to be conſidered by all her Children as Eſſential to the Welfare and Intereſts of the Whole.'

In theſe moſt ſalutary Bands of Union, has God and Nature joined *Britain* and *Ireland* together, and infamous be the Men who ſhall ever attempt to put them aſunder!

Our Parliament having thus effectually wiped off the only Colour which could poſſibly render this Country an Object of Diſguſt or Suſpicion, in the Eye of any fair-minded *Briton*, how eaſy, under the ſecond Article, would have been their Taſk, in demonſtrating, 'That the increaſing Induſtry of this Country in general, inſtead of becoming at any Time an Occaſion of Jealouſy, ought at all Times to be conſidered as a permanent Source of Wealth and Power to our Mother Country; at all Times, while the ſame liberal and manly Spirit continues to be cheriſhed in us, which ſo glorioufly diſtinguiſhes our elder Brethren from all the other Nations upon Earth; a Spirit only to be excited by, and always inſeparable from the animating Senſe of living under a Government of Laws, and not left at the Mercy of any Man's, or Combination of Men's, phantaſtical Ambition or arbitrary Will:

While ſuch a Spirit and Temper continue to prevail in this Country, nothing can be more evident than 'That in Conſequence of the Connexion in Point of Trade and national Intercourſe wherein we

ſtand to *Britain*, and in Conſequence of that conſtant Reſort to the SEAT OF EMPIRE in Purſuit of Pleaſure, or Buſineſs, or the Purpoſes of Ambition, which muſt go on to increaſe as our Induſtry and Plenty increaſe, moſt of the Wealth of *Ireland* muſt of Courſe come annually to be emptied into the Lap of *Britain*; and that in regard to the Reſidue which ſhall continue at Home, the more it increaſes, and the more a National Spirit of Induſtry is encouraged and nurſed up, the happier it muſt be for our Parent Country; in all Exigencies thus aſſured of a Reſource in a Race of her Offspring, who, taught by Nature, Conſtitution, and Experience, as well as by the glorious Example of our Elder Brethren, worthily poſſeſſing a ſtill nobler Inheritance, to ſet a Value on the free Exerciſe of Religion, and the ſecure Enjoyment of the other eſſential Privileges and Rights of a legal Government, preferably to Life and all its other Poſſeſſions; and, well knowing, 'That theſe ſingular Bleſſings are no longer to be hoped for, than while our Mother Country continues powerful and free, muſt at all Times, and at all Hazards, be zealouſly ready to vindicate the Liberties and maintain the Dignity of *Britain*, on the ſame Principles, and at the ſame Expence, we would be ready to vindicate and to maintain our own.

INDEED a dreadful Reverſe of all this would quickly come to take Place, ſhould it ever come to paſs, which Heaven forbid! that this Spirit and Temper ſhall happen to be ſubdued, or by frequent Depreſſions, their Vigour and elaſtic Spring ſhould come to be loſt; if ever it ſhould happen, for Inſtance, that the principal Direction as well as Con-

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troul in all the intereſting internal Concernments of this Country, ſhall by one Means or other come to be ingroſſed by a few, whoſe principal perſonal Intereſts may not only in their Nature be ſeparable from, but in Fact, have in ſimilar Inſtances been known actually to operate in direct Oppoſition to the commanding Intereſts of *Britain* and *Ireland*, ‘ to the Intereſts of Religion, Liberty, and our happy Conſtitution; or, if ever it ſhould happen, ‘ That the National Guardians of our Rights, Properties, and Privileges, by whoſe Authority all Taxes are impoſed, for the Protection of the Public, and the ſeveral other collateral Exigences of Government, ſhall baſely relinquiſh their Self-evident Right, of inquiring how far ſuch Taxes, after being raiſed, have been applied to the Purpoſes for which they were granted; or in Caſes, where, from the Increaſe of Induſtry, or which is much more likely to be the Cauſe, from an Increaſe of Luxury, large Redundancies ſhall happen to remain in the public Treaſury after all the Exigencies of Government have been effectually ſupplied; if ever it ſhould happen in Caſes of this, or any ſimilar Nature, ‘ that theſe national Guardians, inſtead of conſidering ſuch Redundancies as ſo much Money remaining in the Treaſury, to the Credit of the Public, from whoſe Pockets it was raiſed, and themſelves as ſtanding in the Place of thoſe Truſtees, by whoſe Authority the Taxes yielding this Redundancy were originally impoſed, ſhall treacherouſly, or tamely, ſuffer ſuch public Money to be diſpoſed of, by Treaſury Officers, without any Account; Then, and not till Then, can the Increaſe of Induſtry and Wealth in

this Country become, with any Sort of Juſtice, an Object of Jealouſy to the Nation of *Britain*; Then, indeed, as every honeſt Inhabitant of this Kingdom muſt find himſelf forced to acknowledge, *Ireland* muſt inſtantly ceaſe to be, what it is at preſent, an integral and ſalutary Member of the free Empire of *Britain*, and inſtead thereof, muſt ſoon come to ſtand in the ſame deſtructive Relation to *England*, which the *Aſiatic* Provinces ſtood anciently in to *Rome*.

It was not merely the Riches, even of thoſe remote Provinces, but the ſubdued and daſtardly Spirit of the *Aſiatic* Inhabitants, not daring to claim a Property in thoſe Riches, that haſtened the Ruin of the *Roman* Commonwealth; it was the giving up of theſe, and the other Provinces, to the Plunder and Domination of a few Individuals, which enabled thoſe inſolent and ambitious Spirits, poſſeſſing great Power, and void of all Ties and Obligations of Intereſt, to exert this Power for the Happineſs of the People ſubjected to their Government, firſt, to corrupt, and finally to ſubdue the Virtue and Liberty of their native Country; — ſhould therefore in any future Period, ſo abject a Spirit become the odious Characteriſtic of the Inhabitants of this Iſland, no right ſpirited Man, unfortunately happening to have his Reſidence among them, but who muſt inwardly approve, and even applaud, every Inſtance of Policy, and Act of Power, which ſhall be found neceſſary for ſtopping the Growth of that Wealth, which, if not ſpeedily ſuppreſſed, is ſo obviouſly liable to be abuſed for the infamous Purpoſe, of corrupting the Morals, and oppreſſing the Liberties of the Inhabitants of *Britain*.

SELF-EVIDENT, therefore it is, that the Spirit of this Country muſt firſt be broken down, and the Yoke of perſonal Domination actually clapt round the Neck of its wretched Inhabitants, before it can ceaſe to be the Wiſdom and the Intereſt of *Britain*, to cheriſh in *general*, the growing Induſtry of *Ireland*; with what Avantage then muſt our Parliament, after a Repreſentation on this Head, which could not fail of manifeſting a ſober Firmneſs of Mind, in vindicating the eſſential Rights of this Kingdom, at the ſame time that it teſtified the moſt reſpectful and affectionate Duty to our Mother Country, have proceeded to the laſt Article remaining to be diſcuſſed; namely, to inquire whether in the preſent Circumſtances of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, any thwarting of Intereſts be in Fact conceivable, from the increaſing Induſtry of this Country, in the *particular Inſtance* of our Linen Manufacture? here they would have probably judged it needleſs to remark, how different the Policy which *Britain* hitherto has practiſed in regard to this principal Article of our national Support! the many ſubſtantial Proofs given from Time to Time by the *Britiſh* Legiſlature of a thorough Diſpoſition to encourage in *Ireland* the Progreſs of this Manufacture, and the numerous Exhortations delivered from the Throne, to the People of this Country, to bend their Attention to its Cultivation, aſſuring them of all requiſite Concurrence, and promiſing them all neceſſary Aid, are freſh in every one's Memory; What therefore might probably have been thought under this Head beſt deſerving their Notice, would have been, firſt, to have expreſſed their utter Inabi-

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lity to apprehend how in any one Circumſtance there can poſſibly happen at preſent the leaſt interfering of Intereſts between *Britain* and *Ireland*, in regard to this Manufacture, when it is ſo univerſally known, that notwithſtanding all the Induſtry they have hitherto been able to exert, Quantities of foreign Linen, vaſtly exceeding the Produce of both, are annually wanted, to anſwer the Conſumption and Traffic of *Britain*.

In the next Place, THEY would probably have thought it neceſſary earneſtly to repreſent how irreparable the Injury might prove, ſhould any haſty Meaſure be taken in ſo intereſting a Matter; pledging their Faith, 'That if upon a diſpaſſionate and patient Inquiry, any ſuch Oppoſition of Intereſts, contrary to all Appearances, ſhould come to be diſcloſed, this Kingdom would always be ready to come into every Abatement which the impartial Wiſdom of our Mother-country ſhall ſee it fit and juſt to point out: Perfectly willing to be weighed, but ſtrenuouſly inſiſting on being weighed in the public Balance of political Juſtice, where the equitable Hand of the Genius of *Britain* has hold of the Scales.

Is it conceivable that ſuch a national Repreſentation ſeaſonably made, would not long ſince have been effectual for procuring us Aſſurances on which we could with Confidence rely, 'that not any of the Miſchiefs threatned by the Havock in our late Linen Bill ſhould be permitted to take place?"

But how important ſoever the Advantages would have been of ſuch a Repreſentation, that Opportunity was unhappily loſt; and loſt ſolely in conſequence

ſequence of the Story which was raiſed to impoſe on the natural Credulity of an unſuſpecting People; a People diſpoſed to give Credit to any Report, ſooner than to ſuſpect, 'That any Deſign could be any where carrying on, to deſtroy the Linen Manufacture, that moſt eſſential Article of our National Support, and to ſtifle the Induſtry, while yet in its Infancy, of the Inhabitants of this Country:' Had it not been for this amiable Exceſs of Candour, and Confidence of Temper, the Invention ſent abroad was in its Nature too groſs to have obtained any Belief; but ſo powerful has been in Fact this Lullaby Tale, that poſſibly at this very Hour not leſs than nineteen in twenty continue ſtill faſt aſleep, having their Reflection locked up, while their Imaginations are amuſed with deluſory Dreams.

It is, however, high time to awake: Though the beſt Opportunity was thus unhappily loſt, all is not loſt; ſtill there is Place for the critical Interpoſition of the Men of Dignity and Weight, and ſober Senſe of this Country, who have the inſeparable Intereſts of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland* affectionately at Heart, and who, having the Merits of ſo Catholic a Cauſe, ſo irreſiſtably on their Side, now that they have a candid State of the Caſe diſtinctly before them, cannot fail to ſucceed.

IRELAND is ſo conſcious of upright Intention, that far from declining or wiſhing to avoid, it is pleaſed with every Opportunity of having its Fidelity and dutiful Attachment to its Parent Country ſearched to the Bottom.

And moſt happily for us, indeed ſingularly happy even for the Enemies of *Britain*, that ſuch is *Bri-*

tain's innate Greatneſs of Spirit, as never to ſuffer her to take any Meaſures which ſhe is not at all Times willing to avow and prepared to juſtify—not primarily by Force, but previouſly, 'By an open Appeal to the Principles of Righteouſneſs and liberal Policy, in the Face of the World: A Spirit abhorrent of every thing oppreſſive, falſe, or inſidious.

WHAT, therefore, at preſent, and indeed upon all Occaſions ſeems principally to be guarded againſt, on the Side of this Country, is, 'to prevent its being clandeſtinely injured by the Fraud or Fineſſes of *Petit Maitres in Politics*, who forming their Conception of the Spirit and Underſtanding of the Inhabitants of this Country, from ſuch kind of Materials as *London Coffee Houſe Wit*, or from the peruſal of ſuch Books of Inſtruction as that facetious Collection, called, *Joe Miller*'s *Jeſts*, may regard it as an Enterprize to which their *Pſeudo-Machiavelian* Genius has rendered them equal, 'of robbing this Country of the moſt authentic Vouchers of its Priviledges and Rights, and legal Conſtitution; 'of undermining its Strength; and finally 'of reducing it to the abject State of an eaſtern Province, where the arbitrary Edict of a Tetrach or a Patriarch ſtands in Place of the Law, or which is ſtill more ignominious, can be forced on the Country under the Guiſe of a Law, while the wretched Inhabitants dare not in any one Inſtance attempt to reſiſt, nay poſſibly may find it unſafe ſo much as to complain.

BLESSED be God, the Circumſtances of the Inhabitants of this Country are ſuch, and ſuch the happy Nature of its Connexion with *Britain*, as not to ſtand in Dread of any ſuch Wretchedneſs: *Ire-*

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land muſt always continue too reſpectable an Object, in the Eſtimation of *Britain*, ever to be given up in any of its important Intereſts and Priviledges, to the Sport and Reſentment of any Particulars, let their external Denomination be ever ſo dignified; and ſo long as *Britain* ſhall continue to inherit that Magnanimity and Juſtice, which are the eſſential Attributes of the Spirit of Liberty, nothing more can be requiſite for the Safety of *Ireland*, when at any Time in danger of ſuffering an Injury by the Effect of her Power, than ſeaſonably, and with filial Confidence, to point out to her this Injury:

BE this therefore your immediate Buſineſs, as Neceſſity has made it your indiſpenſible Duty, ye real Patriots and faithful Guardians to this Country! Animated with the Senſe of your pleading the Cauſe, a moſt righteous Cauſe, of a moſt loyal and pains-taking People; and of pleading it at a Bar, where Juſtice and Mercy inſpiring the Breaſt of the common Father of his Country, muſt pronounce the Decree.

AND may the Bleſſing of hundreds of thouſands of his Majeſty's faithful and induſtrious Subjects, reſcued from the awful Danger of being ſtript of their immediate Subſiſtance, come upon HIM as the Author, on his faithful Counſellors as the Adviſers, and on you as the Advocates of ſo great a Deliverance! *Amen* and *Amen.*

FROM a ſettled Conviction of the Juſtneſs and Truth of the Sentiments and Facts expreſſed in this Paper, and under a painful Senſe of the Miſchiefs which may accrue to this Country, ſhould its preſent

most critical Situation, in regard to the Safety of its Linen Manufacture be any longer concealed; the Writer finds himself obliged, in this artless Manner, to make it known to the Public; unable in any other way, to make himself sure, that those who may be most zealously disposed, and likewise best qualified for averting the Danger, shall be seasonably apprised of its real Nature and Circumstances: Conscious of this State of Mind, it matters not much to an obscure Individual, whether the Measure He has taken shall be imputed by others, to an Officiousness of Temper and Vanity of Mind, or whether it shall be admitted even as a possible Supposition, that the Whole may have proceeded from an honest Solicitude, well or ill grounded, for the Safety of this Country.

FINIS.